

596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many divisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

143 596

434

578

606

2

596

434

606

578

596

434

167

369

464

596

434

651

702

423

596

593

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

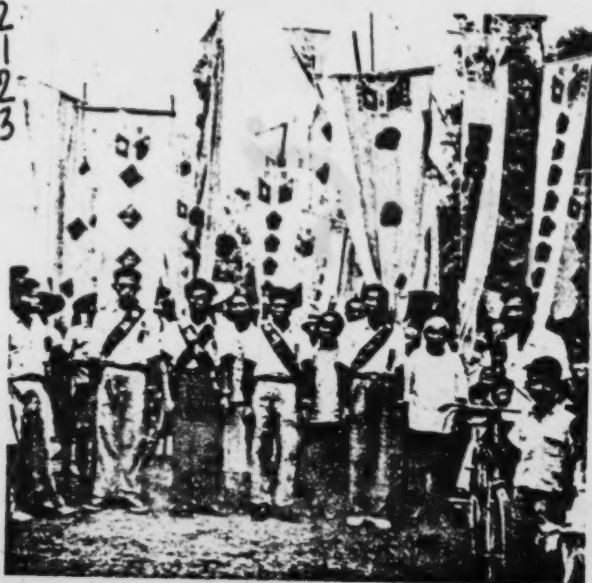
[P.148-G]

585
534
291
516
342
142



ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

702
291
142
493



1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •

Taiwan AD6

T 202

LIFE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGER

554 other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, 562 and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. 883 Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did 874 not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

T
[593]

T
834
857
883

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

T
834
883
626

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

T
Tn
702
596

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

Tn
191
702
873

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Taiwan AD6

LIFE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGER

203

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*sa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

T
191
702
273
[587]

T
702
434
[657]

T
702
[183]

T
702
782
[756]

T
702
574
782
[184]

T
702
527

702 village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a
 527 speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195-203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

[177]
 [71]

702 The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

[584]

[729]

MARRIAGE

582 Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

[178]
 [702]

582
 593
 606

796 f'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifice.
769 Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

796 The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the
782 last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each
574 family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to
464 ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

796
182 Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

796
621 Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or
755 when young men are being sent off for military service. While both
702 situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the
182 entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

796
776 Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of
787 intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from
182 some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*i'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

VILLAGE IN CHANGE

275

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, division is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

59
178
[171][161]
[167]
[423]
[562]
[582]
[606]59
65
178
[702]
[423]59
178
171
618621
628
699
198

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.¹

648 Even to this extent, the village does not really
829 participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

[871]
[702]
[582]
[204]
[207]

434

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 Most of the money young adults earn is turned over
[434] to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still
[983] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with special-
• 702ists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military
[983] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since
[983] the pay in the service is only \$100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

- 402 boys are not expected to marry until after completing service. This expectation has served to raise the average age of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.